Ukrainian National Council

Documents of Ukrainian Foreign Policy

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Preface

In July 1948 the Ukrainian National Council has been created in Western Europe as the representation of the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for an independent state. The Ukrainian National Council consists of the representatives of the Ukrainian political parties and has its Executive Committee which is responsible to it.

The Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council brings in this pamphlet material that has the purpose to show the importance of the Ukrainian problem for the solution of the whole question of Eastern Europe.

Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council

June 1949.

I. TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS' GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN PARIS

MATTER: **Memorandum on the creation of a special commission for the investigation of the situation in Eastern Europe, which is a threat to world peace.**

EXCELLENCY,

By order of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council that continues the state tradition of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic I have the honour to declare that among the nations participating under your direction in this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations the Ukrainian nation actually is not represented.

As all the peoples, who were free and independent and now are enslaved by Soviet Russia, Ukraine is officially represented by the delegates of that government which has occupied Ukraine by force, i. e. by the delegation of the so called government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, — that means properly by Soviet Russia. Ukraine has no independence at all for it is ruled actually by the Soviet Russian government. Therefore protesting against the usurpation of the rights of the Ukrainian nation by Soviet Russia I beg to present to Your Excellency and members of the UN the following facts that justify my protest.

I. After the downfall of the Tsarist government in Russia the Ukrainian nation realized its right for self-determination. On January 22nd 1918 the revolutionary Parliament of Ukraine — the Central Rada (Council) — proclaimed the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic that was acknowledged by various states (including Soviet Russia) and by its other neighbours. But the Communist government of Soviet Russia made war against the democratic Ukraine violating international law and after a long stubborn resistance of the Ukrainian army, which was supported by the Ukrainian population it succeeded in occupying the Ukrainian territory and establishing its „government" of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic consisting of people hostile to Ukraine and subordinated to Moscow. Simultaneously Soviet Russia conquered Georgia, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Turkestan and other countries.

Consequently Ukraine (though it is called by Soviet propaganda independent) has become in reality a colony of Soviet Russia. The Soviet Russian government oppresses Ukraine not only politically, it exploits this country rich by nature to such a degree, that the former „granary of Europe" has been brought to economic ruin and famine. For instance millions of Ukrainians perished under Soviet Russian rule from famine deliberately organized in Ukraine in 1921/22 and 1933, millions of our people lost their lives after having been deported to Siberia, further millions of innocent people are being tortured in concentration camps and prisons of the Russian totalitarian state. In such a situation are the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russia.

All this proves the great danger the rule of the Soviet regime in Ukraine and other countries of eastern Europe represents for democratic development and international peace.

The delegation of the so called government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic to the United Nations **represents only the oppressors of Ukraine and for this reason has no right to speak in the name of the Ukrainian nation.**

2. Following its policy of conquest Soviet Russia annexed by force during World War II all other Ukrainian territories (Galicia, Volhynia, Bukowina, Bessarabia, Carpatho-Ukraine). Thus the Communist Russian government has achieved the domination over the whole Ukrainian people.

3. Against Russian occupation the Ukrainian nation under the leadership of its national government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic made regular war until the end of 1920. Later uprisings of the nation give permanent evidence of the unbroken will of the Ukrainian nation to get rid of foreign rule and to renew its indepedence.

4. The Ukrainian nation has not recognized the rule of the Russian Communist government in Ukraine. Therefore the Ukrainian National Council as the representative of the organized will of the Ukrainian nation announced in its declaration from July 1948 its unanimous protest against the rule of Russian Communists in Ukraine and stated that this government „has no right to speak in the name of the Ukrainian nation". The Ukrainian National Council said in this declaration besides that the so called government of Soviet Ukraine was only „a puppet of the Russian Communist government, which rules the Ukrainian nation only by force of arms and means of terror", and therefore until the time when the Ukrainian nation will be able to express its will on its own soil freely the interests of the Ukrainian nation before the world will be represented by the State Centre of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic through the Ukrainian National Council and the Executive Committee.

5. Against the totalitarian regime of Communist Russia the Ukrainian nation fights on all its territories by every means including armed revolts. This struggle of the Ukrainian nation has not ceased for 30 years. Thus **Communist Soviet Russian rule in Ukraine creates a danger for democratic development and peace among the peoples.** As long as the peoples under the rule of Soviet Russia will not be freed a serious threat to peace in Europe and the whole world will exist.

In view of these facts I have the honour to ask Your Excellency to discuss the question of the situation in Ukraine under the Soviet Russian regime before the present General Assembly of the United Nations and to create a special commission of the United Nations **for investigation of the present situation in eastern Europe in general, a situation that seriously endangers the peace of the world.**

In the Charter of the United Nations its members are asked „to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and

self-determination of peoples, and to take their appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace". (Chapter I, Article I, § 2). These principles of the Charter give a basis for intervention before the United Nations in the mentioned above matter.

Assuring you of my greatest esteem

Yours sincerely
Isaac Mazepa
Chairman of Executive Committee
of the Ukrainian National Council and Director of Foreign Affairs
September 20th 1948.

II. A SHORT REPORT ON THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

(Appendix to the Memorandum of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council to the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris in 1948.)

The Ukrainians (or Ruthenians) inhabit from ancient times the territory between the Carpathian Mountains in the west and the Don River in the east. Here in the 9th century a great slavonic state (Rus) arose with Kiev as its capital.

The attacks of nomadic peoples from the east destroyed the state of the Kiev Ruthenians, but in western Ukraine (Galicia-Volhynia) a Ukrainian independent state continued to exist until the middle of the 14th century. At this time Galicia was annexed by Poland and the eastern Ukrainian territories came gradually under the rule of princes of the Lithuanian dynasty. In 1569 by the Union of Lublin between Poland and Lithuania almost the whole of Ukraine went to Poland. Social, national and religious oppressions in Poland (the Ukrainians were Greek-Orthodox, the Poles Roman-Catholics) led to the national revolution of 1648 headed by the Hetman of the Ukrainian Cossacks Bohdan Chmelnytsky. Thus the Ukrainian independent state was restored.

In order to defend itself against Poland the Ukrainian government concluded a treaty with the Tsar of Moscow (1654). According to this treaty Ukraine had autonomous rights (its own army, administration, foreign policy etc.).

Moscow promised to help Ukraine in its fight against Poland, but the Muscovite government regarded the existence of an independent Ukraine as undesirable. Therefore Moscow and Poland came to an agreement: by the treaty of Andrusov (1667) Poland and Moscow divided Ukraine among themselves along the Dnieper River. Nonetheless the Ukraine east of the Dnieper River could preserve for some time its autonomy under the rule of elected Hetmans.

In 1708 during the Swedish-Russian war the Ukrainian government headed by Hetman Ivan Mazeppa signed a treaty with the Swedish king Charles XII.

against Peter I., the Tsar of Moscow, in order to restore the independence of Ukraine. This plan could not be realized as the Swedish-Ukrainian army was defeated near Poltava in 1709. But the Ukrainian government, which emigrated with Hetman Mazeppa headed after his death by Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, continued to defend the right of the Ukrainian nation for independence before the western European world.

During the 18 th century Ukraine lost under Muscovite rule all its national rights. After the dismemberment of Poland at the end of the 18 th century all Ukrainian territories except Galicia, Bukowina and Carpatho-Ukraine became provinces of the Russian empire. The Ukrainian nation under the rule of the Russian Tsars was sentenced to political death.

The Tsarist government forbade the use of the Ukrainian language in schools, offices and even in Church. The printing of Ukrainian books and newspapers was forbidden by a special „ukas" (order) of the Tsar (1876). In this state of cruel enslavement Ukraine remained under the rule of the Tsars until the revolution of 1917. Only in the Ukrainian provinces of Austria (Galicia and Bukowina) the Ukrainian cultural and political life could develop. The example of the Ukrainian movement in these western parts of Ukraine influenced the resurrection of the political life of the Ukrainian subjects of the Russian Tsar. Thus the Tsarist government in World War I had the aim to annex Galicia and Bukowina in order to root out „Mazeppism".

After the downfall of Tsarism in 1917 the Ukrainian nation at once declared its right for national self-determination. The first revolutionary Parliament of Ukraine — the Ukrainian Central Rada (Council) — declared the independence of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in Kiev on January 22nd 1918. Against this democratic Ukraine the Russian Communist dictatorial government waged war.

After the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the Ukrainians of Galicia declared on November Ist 1918 the independent Western Ukrainian Democratic Republic. By the act of January 22nd 1919 in Kiev the union of western Ukraine with the eastern Ukrainian Democratic Republic was proclaimed.

This happened in the time of struggle of the Ukrainian nation on all fronts: in the north against the attacks of the Russian Communist army, in the south-east the war against Russian Tsarist generals was fought out, in the west the Ukrainian army had to defend its territory against the forces of restored Poland. Until 1920 the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic fought for the independence of the Ukrainian nation.

In 1921 Soviet Russia and Poland divided by the treaty of Riga the Ukrainian provinces among themselves (the Riga frontier.) The government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in exile did not cease to protest before the civilized world against the enslavement of Ukraine by foreign states.

From the time of occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia the Russian Communist government annihilated millions of Ukrainians by mass arrests, deportations into concentration camps, executions and organized famine.

Besides Communist Moscow oppressed Ukrainian national culture: thousands of Ukrainians, who worked for its development paid for this with their lives.

The Russian Communist government covers its policy of national oppression and economical exploitation of the Ukrainian nation with the label „Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic", which has been declared to be one of the Republics of the Soviet Union. The western territories of Ukraine= Galicia, Volhynia, Bessarabia, Bukowina= were annexed by Poland and Rumania and suffered from a policy of denationalization and economical exploitation.

Against all these foreign regimes the Ukrainian nation fought in various forms and by various means. During World War II Ukraine was the object of German imperialism. Against German occupation as well as against Russian Communist government the Ukrainian nation fought during the last war in organized uprisings.

In consequence of World War II all Ukrainian territories have been occupied by Soviet Russia. In the whole of Ukraine Communist terror rages. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians had to leave their native country to save their lives from this terror.

The Ukrainian nation living under the totalitarian regime of Soviet Russia cannot express its political will freely. Under these circumstances the organized Ukrainian emigration has the right and the moral duty to defend the interests of its nation before the world. Therefore on July 16th 1948 the representatives of the political parties from all Ukrainian territories united and established the Ukrainian National Council as the representation of the Ukrainian nation in its struggle for independence.

In its declaration to the Ukrainian nation the Ukrainian National Council, defining its aims, said:

„Clinging to the acts of the restoration of the Ukrainian national state the Ukrainian National Council has decided to reorganize the State Centre of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic and to create a renewed Executive Committee, responsible to the National Council.

The Ukrainian National Council announces before the whole civilized world its unanimous protest against the foreign rule of Russian Communists in Ukraine and states that this present Soviet government has no right to speak in the name of the Ukrainian nation.

The Ukrainian National Council declares that the so called government of Soviet Ukraine is only a puppet of the Russian Communist government, which rules the Ukrainian nation only by the force of arms and the means of terror.

Until the time when the Ukrainian nation will be able to express its will freely on its own soil, the interests of the Ukrainian nation before the world shall be represented by the State Centre of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, which in due time has received its mandate from free elected Ukrainian legislative institutions of the independent democratic Ukraine...

The Ukrainian National Council will oppose any kind of totalitarian and

dictatorial aspirations and will stand for the equal status of all citizens of Ukraine regardless of their nationality, race or creed."

With the creation of the Ukrainian National Council the Ukrainian national movement takes on a new phase in the political history of the Ukrainian nation. The enslaved Ukrainian people in the home country as well as the numerous masses of Ukrainian emigrants in the countries of western Europe and America listen to the voice of the Ukrainian National Council. In the struggle of democracy against Russian Communist totalitarianism the Ukrainian nation chose its place on the side of the democratic nations. The wide territory of Ukraine with its fertile soil, its mineral resources and its industrious population might play an important rôle in world economy for the peaceful development and progress of mankind. But now Communist Russia exploits the iron ore of Krivoy Rog, the coal of the Dónets Basin, the manganic ore in Nikopol and the oilwells of Boryslaw for its war industries. Without Ukraine the Russian Communist militarism and imperialism could never have such an impetus, for it would be deprived of its economic basis. **Therefore the Ukrainian problem is one of the key problems of eastern Europe.** The support of the national self-determination of the Ukrainian nation is the support of the democratic development of eastern Europe and through this of the whole world.

III. UKRAINE AND SOVIET RUSSIA

(The Ukrainian Problem and the Present Situation in Eastern Europe.)

The Ukrainian problem is closely connected with the whole problem of Eastern Europe. All efforts to solve the Ukrainian problem reducing it to the fight against communism and to the question of liquidation of the Communist regime in Russia are based on a misunderstanding of this problem or are inspired by the wish to bring it to the level of an internal affair of the Russian State.

This tendency of handling the Ukrainian problem as well as the problem of all other nations subjugated by Moscow as an internal Russian affair is common to all the different representatives of Russian emigrants who all without exception defend the conception of a centralistic form of government. All Russians from the right Monarchists to the Communists stand in this question in one front. This shows how deeply imperialism in the Russian political thought is rooted. Thus it would be an error to take only the thoughts and views of the Russian representatives as a basis for the solution of the problems of Ukraine and Eastern Europe in general.

The present difficult situation in Ukraine and the territories of other peoples enslaved by Russia is not only the result of the existence of the totalitarian Communist system there. In the Communist system you do not find anything new, if you make a deeper analysis. It does not differ in substance from the system of the Russian Tsarist state through all the time of its existence. Through all the Russian history, historiosophy and philosophy we can

follow the idea of the messianistic role of Moscow from the oldest times up to this day. We remind only of such expressions of this messianism as the „God-bearing people", „Russia will save the world", „the rotten West" (the Slavophiles), „the Russian working-class, the vanguard of the world's proletariat, will save the mankind" a. s. o.

Of course, there were other ideas contrary to these mentioned above among the Russians too, but they never attained a sufficient number of followers to become important for the historical process in Russia. The political aims of the state, the interior methods of government, the forms of social organization of society were almost in all periods of the Moscow state the same and were clearly penetrated by the messianistic idea. In all the three revolutions of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great and Lenin a process of forming a new ruling class, an obedient instrument of the central government for enslaving the peoples has taken place. In this sense the former Secretary of State Mr. Byrnes is entirely right remarking in his book „Spoken Frankly" that the Russian expansion is not a creation of the Communist regime, but is deeply founded in Russian history.

Communist Moscow in its interior and foreign policy continues the old traditions of Russian imperialistic messianism and represents under the mask of „World Revolution" a terrible danger not only to peace among the peoples, but also to democratic development of mankind. It is well known that Lenin was „god-father" of all totalitarian regimes in Europe.

Lenin did the most to destroy democracy in the world. Before the outbreak of World War II Communism was responsible for the fall of democracy in Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Germany and other countries. The leaders of Italian Fascism and German National-Socialism learned from Russian Communists the system of organization and terror. All historians of the political movements point out the similarity between the political methods of Communists, Fascists and National-Socialists. The present leaders of Soviet Russia connected in their interior propaganda their system with the tradition of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great and other founders of the Moscow Empire finding there their real historical traditions and their real predecessors instead of Marx and Engels who were determined enemies of Russian imperialism.

As a contrast to the Russian nation who has no democratic tradition the Ukrainian nation has one. Just from the breakdown of the Kiev State under the blows of Tartar invaders in the 13th century the social and political conditions in Russia differed from those in Ukraine. In the time, when Russia, having no direct influence from Western Europe, was following the examples of Eastern despotism (Tartars), Ukraine, on the contrary, under Western influence developed towards the European social orders and „comes" — as it was expressed by a Russian historian — „on the Western-European line".

In Ukraine a strong social class develops between the state power and the masses. This class takes part in the organization of government and influ-

ences the policy of the central government. In the Moscovite State the autocratic government rules all the classes relying on the class of the so called „serving people" totally enslaved by the state.

So it was under the rule of the Tsars, so it is now under Communist dictatorship. The Russian Communists have kept the „Byzantine-Turkish" system (an expression of the famous Russian historian Miliukov) of Tsarist Russia. This system gave Moscow the greatest possible concentration of military power and material resources. Army and finance were the objects of care for the old Tsarist government. Most state resources were spent on military affairs and only a small rest remained for other purposes. The same we see in Soviet Russia, where army and finance draw the entire attention of the Communist government, where as the nation with its cultural and other needs is regarded as „raw material" for the ruthless dictatorship. Whith this dictatorial system depriving the nation of any initiative and selforganization the Communists rule up to this day.

Bolshevik Communism has grown on the ground of the peculiarity of development of the Russian society. In Ukraine the traditions of Russian despotism are strange and do not correspond with the spirit of the people. This is the principal reason for the anti-Bolshevik character of the Ukrainian movement just from the beginning of the revolution in 1917. Bolshevism as a product of entirely Russian conditions has not found any ground in Ukraine. Therefore there had been no Ukrainian Communist organizations in the country before the coming of Russian Bolshevik invaders. The idea of Ukrainian Socialism took the shape of democratic, western European Socialism and not the totalitarian Moscovite Communism.

Thus it is not astonishing that Ukraine with its ancient democratic traditions after the Bolshevik October revolt in Russia became the first victim of Soviet Russia's violence and terror.

In December 1917 the Ukrainian nation was compelled to begin a heavy military struggle for its national and human freedom against the Russian imperialism renewed by the Communist dictatorship. Three years (1917—1920) the fierce struggle of the Ukrainian regular army lasted against the Russian invaders. After the breakdown of the Ukrainian front partisan movements of the Ukrainian people showed the will of the Ukrainian nation for independence.

The cruel Communist occupation regime has not known any moderation in its handling of Ukrainians. By bloody terror, deliberately organized famine and deportations into distant regions of Siberia, millions of Ukrainians were annihilated and all the cultural and national gains resulting from the revolution 1917 and the Ukrainian independence were ruthlessly reduced. The freedom of religion has been abolished, the whole hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephal Greek Orthodox Church has been annihilated and after 1945 the Greek Catholic Church (in union with the Roman Catholic Church) in Eastern Galicia has been destroyed.

Against this terrible oppression the resistance of the Ukrainian people has never ceased. Even after World War II that has exhausted the Ukrainian people extraordinally the armed resistance of the Ukrainian partisans against Russian occupation under slogans of an independent united Ukraine is still going on.

Under similar conditions other peoples are enslaved by the Soviet Union.

With regard to the said above, the great powers seeking to establish world peace and to stop Soviet aggression must not forget that:

The problem of Eastern Europe is first of all a problem of mutual relations between Russia and the other Eastern European peoples under the rule of Moscow. On the territory of the Soviet Union under the influence of the despotic Communist regime and the remembrance of the Tsarist Russian „prison of peoples" two conceptions for a new political order in Eastern Europe arose:

1. The conception of an indivisible Russia in the form of a centralized or federative state, supported by the representatives of all Russian political groups.
2. The conception of such a political order in Eastern Europe that would secure to all its peoples a free and independent existence and would by this once for ever put an end to Russian imperialism; this conception is supported by all peoples enslaved by Moscow, and principally by the Ukrainians.

This second conception excludes the compulsory union of Eastern European peoples with Russia even on a federative basis. A genuine federalism is possible only among peoples who through generations grew up in an atmosphere of respect for the freedom of the individual. Unfortunately the Russian nation never knew this. It is a fact that among the Russians there is no political group that would not dream of a „United Russia" with compulsory union of peoples organized from above, by the central government, that would not try to force on all non-Russian nationalities the will of the Russians. Such a „federation" would mean as a result of the numeral preponderance of the Russians in the Soviet Union the acceptance of Russian hegemony and this would lead sooner or later inevitably to a full enslavement of Ukrainians and other nationalities by imperialist Russia as it happened several times in the past.

Especially the Ukrainians are heavily threatened by Russian imperialism and nationalism. Tsar Peter the Great forbade in 1721 in Ukraine the printing of books in a language other than Russian, and in 1876 an „Ukas" of the Tsar forbade the printing of Ukrainian books and newspapers. The teaching of the Ukrainian language in the schools, even the word „Ukraine", was forbidden. Only the word „Little Russia" could be used instead of Ukraine. The policy of the Russian Communists follows the tradition of Tsarist Russia. The true teaching of Ukrainian history is forbidden under the Soviet regime, and culture as a whole is enslaved by the Russian terrorist regime.

The declaration of the principles of the „Atlantic Charter" for the peoples of Eastern Europe would have an immense importance for the fight against Soviet imperialism. This would be a strong blow to Soviet propaganda accusing demagogically the western democracies of imperialism. Besides this a great number of peoples, now under Soviet Rule, would be put against the tyranny of Moscow. The realization of these principles would guarantee a peaceful development of the European peoples and a lasting peace in Eastern Europe and the whole world.

The victory of democratic ideas among the Russians and the rejection by them of imperialistic aims would be in the interest of the Russian nation, for only in this way its own freedom and prosperity can be secured.

Special attention should be paid by the great powers to the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian nation, second in number after the Russians in Eastern Europe, both by its geographical position on the shores of the Black Sea and the road between Asiatic East and European West, and by its ancient democratic traditions, is well fitted to be a vanguard of the fight for a democratic organization of life in Eastern Europe. In contrast to Russia, Ukraine has remained culturally and politically European. The basis of Ukrainian culture has been Western. Therefore Ukraine has been a bearer of progressive Western ideas against the despotic East. The Ukrainian nation wishes to live in peace with the neighbour peoples and has no aggressive aims for strange territories. The Ukrainian nation wants to free itself from the national and political slavery and to renew its Ukrainian Democratic Republic proclaimed on 22.1.1918 in Kiev.

One year later by the act of the Ukrainian Labour Congress in Kiev from January 22nd 1919 all Ukrainian territories were united in the Ukrainian independent democratic state.

The Independent United Ukrainian Democratic Republic remains the aim of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

The time of imperialism, national unequality and oppression must come to an end in the interest of international peace and democratic development of the world.

Only a free independent Ukraine will be able to make alliances with other independent states.

Information Service of the Executive Committee
of the Ukrainian National Council.

1948.

IV. PROBLEMS OF UKRAINIAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Plan of the Executive Committee approved by the Foreign Affairs' Committee of the Ukrainian National Council)

1. The liberation of the Ukrainian people depends on two main factors: the own national forces and a favourable international situation. Therefore the Ukrainians organize their own inner forces in order to fight for an

independent united Ukrainian state and look for understanding and sympathies of the Ukrainian problem in the world.

2. The traditions of the present Ukrainian policy reach as far as to the times of the Ukrainian State in the 17th — 18th centuries. Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky already after having signed the treaty of 1654 with the Tsar of Moscow came to the conviction that Moscow was aiming recklessly at the destruction of the Ukrainian State. Thus Ukraine concluded treaties with Transylvania and Sweden in 1656/57 in order to secure her independence. The Hetmans of Ukraine Ivan Mazeppa (1687—1709) and Pylyp Orlyk (1709—1742) alike followed the policy of defending resolutely the independence of the Ukrainian State against Moscow. Especially Hetman Pylyp Orlyk was the first who worked on the organization of an alliance of the nations oppressed by the Muscovite Tsardom.
3. The present Ukrainian policy has as its aim the full state independence of the Ukrainian nation on its national territory and stands at the same time for the right of independent life and free development for all peoples who are oppressed by Russia. Taking this principle as the basis for a new order in Eastern Europe the Ukrainian policy is based on the natural right of the national self-determination and the resolutions of the Atlantic Charter on the freedom of nations and individuals.
4. The Russian people in their history had never known political freedom nor respect for the freedom of other peoples. The history of the growth of the Tsarist Russian State is permanent war and violence against the neighbouring peoples. The Russian Communist Government after having destroyed the right of self-determination of the peoples had followed the international policy of the Tsars and even strengthened the traditional Russian imperialism. To-day Soviet Russia using Communist propaganda for world domination presents a still greater danger to world peace and the freedom of the peoples than German imperialism did during World War II.
5. Ukraine and with her the other nations who are enslaved by Russia are fighting not only against communism and its dictatorship but against oppression by any foreign power in general. Ukraine and the other nations who are oppressed by Russia are aiming at the full liberation from Russian rule. Particularly any union of Ukraine with Russia even on a federative basis is excluded from Ukrainian foreign policy with regard to the fact that such a union would lead to the abolition of Ukrainian independence in the future as it has happened in the past. A true federalism is possible only among peoples who have grown for generations in a spirit of respect for the freedom of others.
6. To lead the fight for liberation to a successful end the Ukrainians regard it necessary to collaborate and to carry a coordinated action with all peoples who are fighting for their liberation from Russian rule. With respect to their common interests in policy, defense and economy it is

regarded necessary in Ukrainian policy even after their liberation to lay stress on their narrow connection based on a voluntary collaboration of independent nations in order to secure their free development and to attain common aims and purposes.

Ukrainian policy defends the ethnographic principle in the drawing of the frontiers of the future independent Ukraine as most just and expedient to secure a lasting peace.

7. For securing the freedom of the peoples who are oppressed by Soviet Russia and for defense against any violence on the part of foreign nations it is regarded necessary in Ukrainian policy to create in Eastern and Central Europe a po.itico-economical union of independent states of the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, White Russian (Byelorussian), Polish, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian nations, of the Cossack territories between Ukraine and the Caucasus and of the Caucasian peoples. Other European peoples who are oppressed by Soviet Russia can join this union alike. Ukraine and other nations from among these mentioned may become later equal members of a United Europe.

   Ukrainian policy favours the struggle for liberation of the Cossack Countries and the peoples of the Caucasus, principally because of the common political, economic and defensive interests the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe have in relation to Russian imperialism.

8. This plan of the settling of the affairs of Eastern Europe can, of course, be realized only on the basis of mutual understanding, confidence and close collaboration among free, independent nations.

April 1949.

V. THE RUSSIAN „LEAGUE FOR THE FIGHT FOR PEOPLE'S FREEDOM" AND UKRAINE

In the Russian newspapers in America the „Principal Theses" of the program of the recently created „League for the Fight for People's Freedom" were published in March of this year. According to this program this Russian League has the task to fight against the Communist dictatorship and for the establishment of a democratic regime in Russia.

The creation of the Russian League is a fact that strengthens the forces of World democracy in the fight against Communist Russia. But on the part of the Ukrainians there are principal reservations regarding to those theses of the mentioned League which refer to the peoples oppressed by Soviet Russia and among them to Ukraine.

With respect to this the Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council makes the following statement:

The Communist dictatorship in Russia is a creation of the historic development of the Russian people who have not had in their past any free political order and has not known respect for the freedom of other peoples.

When after the downfall of Tsardom in 1917 the dictatorship of the Communist Party took power the other peoples of the former Tsarist Empire created independent democratic states of their own: the Baltic peoples, Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasus and others. Soviet Russia occupied these countries after a long stubborn struggle by her military forces and is holding them under her rule by terror. Without the Russian military force Communist dictatorship could not had brought these peoples under its rule as the Communist movement has been weak among them and especially in Ukraine there were no U k r a i n i a n Communist organizations at all before the coming of the Russian occupation regime.

Russian imperialism is not a creation of the Communist regime, it is rooted deeply in Russian political tradition. Therefore all Russian political groups — from the Monarchists to the Socialists — formerly (before and during the revolution of 1917) and actually did not want to recognize the right for free self-determination of the peoples who are oppressed by Russia. This tendency appears in the program of the Russian „League for the Fight for People's Freedom". Even the name of the periodical of this League „Future Russia" where the principal theses of the platform of the League where published prove that the League is aiming at the preservation of the Russian Empire (on the territory of the USSR) that would continue to rule the peoples who have been annexed by force. Though in the principal theses, of the platform of the League a „union of peoples created through free agreement" is mentioned at the beginning, on the other hand, it is emphasized:

„Only a Constituent Assembly elected by all the peoples of the country... will have the right to decide definitively on the order of the future liberated Russia". That means that the decision about the fate of the peoples who are oppressed by Russia would lie with the Russian people that has a numerical majority in the USSR. Thus the slogans about a free agreement of the peoples and their free development proclaimed by the Russian League are only phrases concealing the r e a l tendency of the League to renew an „indivisible Russia" after the downfall of the Communist regime even against the will of peoples belonging now to the USSR.

Therefore the Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council declares:

1. The program of the Russian „League for the Fight for People's Freedom" actually does not recognize the right for free self-determination of the peoples under Soviet Russian oppression. This program does not take notice of the fact that the non-Russian peoples, like the Ukrainians and others, created after the revolution of 1917 independent democratic states of their own and brought great sacrifices in the struggle for their freedom and free development. The revolutionary fight carried also in the form of partisan activities has not ceased on the territories of the peoples under Russian oppression. Especially the struggle for liberation of the Ukrai-

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nian Partisan Army has not stopped and abroad the Ukrainian National Council is acting as the representation of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for an independent state.

For these reasons the program of the Russian „League for the Fight for the People's Freedom" cannot have the confidence of the Ukrainians as well as of other peoples oppressed by Russia. Every imposing of the forms of international relations from above will be regarded by the Ukrainians and the other oppressed peoples as a violation of their rights and they will fight against this with all their power.

2. The plan of the Russian League to settle international relations by calling a Constituent Assembly of „all peoples" of former Russia cannot solve the problems of the peoples under Russian oppression. Such a plan could, on the contrary, intensify the national antagonisms in Eastern Europe and become again a danger to freedom and peace in this region and the whole world. A Constituent Assembly elected by „all peoples" would be actually an expression of the will of the Russian people who have a majority in the USSR and could not guarantee the rights of other peoples for freedom and free development.

Especially in regard to the Ukrainian people only democratically elected legislative institutions of an independent Ukraine can create a government corresponding to the Ukrainian interests and decide on the principle of equality about the relations of the Ukrainian state with other nations. In order to secure the liberties of the Ukrainian people against the threat of Russian imperialism it is regarded in Ukrainian policy expedient to include Ukraine into a system of international unions with other European nations which the new order of a United Europe should lean upon.

Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council.

April 1949

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